

THE BOMBAY COURIER.

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OL. XLI.]

TUESDAY, 15 OCTOBER, 1833.

[NO. 2280.]

STRAYED from the house of SIR J. AWDREY, about 7 A. M. on Sunday last, A SMALL SMOOTH COATED WHITE TERRIER DOG, answering to the name of "Pepper"—He has light liver Marks about one side of the face—ears not Cropped—and could probably be identified by any person who came out by the *Sir Edward Paget*.

As he had on a Collar with the name of AWDREY, he is suspected to be stolen; and Gentlemen to whom such a dog may be offered for sale, are particularly requested to furnish information either to SIR J. AWDREY or Mr. GRAY.

A Reward will be given if required.

MESSRS. FRITH, BOMANJEE, AND CO. have just received by the *Gilmore*, the following Carriages; for sale at the low prices annexed:

An elegant London built Britchka, by Powell, Bond Street, price.....Rs. 2500
A very neat Poney Phaeton..... " 950
A do. do. do. with..... " 750
Rattan Body..... " 1000
A second hand Phaeton for one or two horses..... " 1000
Nesbit Lane, 15th October, 1833.

FOR sale—At the Godowns of Messrs. LECKIE AND CO.,
Bass Beer, at.....Rs. 50 per hhd.
Barclays ditto, at..... " 40 ditto.
Apply to SHAPOORJEE NASSER-WANJEE.

FOR sale—At the Godowns of Messrs. MACVICAR, BURN, AND CO. very superior Hockheimer, vintage 1819, in 3 dozen cases, at 30 Rs. per dozen.
The finest creaming champagne, 1825, 1 do. at 45 Rs. per do.

Just received from Messrs. GIESLER AND CO. of Frankfurt, and Cologne.
Bombay, 15th Oct., 1833.

FIRST FREDERIKSNAGORE, ALIAS SERAMPORE GOVERNMENT LOTTERY OF 1833.

SCHEME.

1 Prize of.....	Sa. Rs. 40,000
1 Do. of.....	" 20,000
1 Do. of.....	" 10,000
1 Do. of.....	" 5,000
6 Do. of.....	" 1,000 each
10 Do. of.....	" 500
50 Do. of.....	" 100
250 Do. of.....	" 80

320 Prizes.....1,11000
1680 Blanks.

2000 Tickets.

Five hundred tickets will be drawn on each day; the first Drawing was to take place on the 2d instant, and the whole four drawings shall be completed on or before the 10th of November next.

The Capital prize of Sa. Rs. 40,000 shall be put into the wheel on the last day of drawing.

The drawing of the Lottery will take place at Frederiksnagore, under the superintendence of the magistrates, Mr. C. Boeck and Mr. John Palmer, of Calcutta.

A few tickets and shares in the above lottery are for sale with FROMMURZE SORABJEE, at the following prices, viz:—
Whole tickets at Rs. 70 each.
Half.....do..... " 39
Quarter do..... " 20

TERMS, CASH.
Bombay, 15th October, 1833.

NOTICE is hereby given, that on the 12th instant, a letter was received from Jungbar, intimating that the Ship *Joolab*, belonging to RAJAH VEEJAY-SUNJEE, of Bhowanuggur, and of which MOOSSAJEE HUSSONBHOY, was Nacodah, had been wrecked on her Voyage from the Mauritius to Jungbar.

અનર: રીઆથી આપીએચ

તારીખ ૧૨ મી. યાલતા મહીનોનીએને
દીરે. શ્રી. અંધજારનો. લખેલો. એક. પતર.
આવેજી. તેમ. લખેલો. શ્રી. લાલનગર
નો. રાજ. વીજાશંકરજી. વાંદા. એક
નામે. જુલા. નામોદા. મુશાજ. હંસનલાજ
વાલુ. શ્રી. મોરીશથી. જુપડીને. શ્રી. અંધજાર
જતા. રશતામો. લાગુ. તેથી. તે. રાજના.
આડતી. આમે. વાંદા. ના. નીમાલા. લખેને
બાં. ચવા. શા. ૩૦. પા. ૧૨. ૩૦. ૩૧. ૩૨. ૩૩. ૩૪. ૩૫. ૩૬. ૩૭. ૩૮. ૩૯. ૪૦. ૪૧. ૪૨. ૪૩. ૪૪. ૪૫. ૪૬. ૪૭. ૪૮. ૪૯. ૫૦. ૫૧. ૫૨. ૫૩. ૫૪. ૫૫. ૫૬. ૫૭. ૫૮. ૫૯. ૬૦. ૬૧. ૬૨. ૬૩. ૬૪. ૬૫. ૬૬. ૬૭. ૬૮. ૬૯. ૭૦. ૭૧. ૭૨. ૭૩. ૭૪. ૭૫. ૭૬. ૭૭. ૭૮. ૭૯. ૮૦. ૮૧. ૮૨. ૮૩. ૮૪. ૮૫. ૮૬. ૮૭. ૮૮. ૮૯. ૯૦. ૯૧. ૯૨. ૯૩. ૯૪. ૯૫. ૯૬. ૯૭. ૯૮. ૯૯. ૧૦૦. ૧૦૧. ૧૦૨. ૧૦૩. ૧૦૪. ૧૦૫. ૧૦૬. ૧૦૭. ૧૦૮. ૧૦૯. ૧૧૦. ૧૧૧. ૧૧૨. ૧૧૩. ૧૧૪. ૧૧૫. ૧૧૬. ૧૧૭. ૧૧૮. ૧૧૯. ૧૨૦. ૧૨૧. ૧૨૨. ૧૨૩. ૧૨૪. ૧૨૫. ૧૨૬. ૧૨૭. ૧૨૮. ૧૨૯. ૧૩૦. ૧૩૧. ૧૩૨. ૧૩૩. ૧૩૪. ૧૩૫. ૧૩૬. ૧૩૭. ૧૩૮. ૧૩૯. ૧૪૦. ૧૪૧. ૧૪૨. ૧૪૩. ૧૪૪. ૧૪૫. ૧૪૬. ૧૪૭. ૧૪૮. ૧૪૯. ૧૫૦. ૧૫૧. ૧૫૨. ૧૫૩. ૧૫૪. ૧૫૫. ૧૫૬. ૧૫૭. ૧૫૮. ૧૫૯. ૧૬૦. ૧૬૧. ૧૬૨. ૧૬૩. ૧૬૪. ૧૬૫. ૧૬૬. ૧૬૭. ૧૬૮. ૧૬૯. ૧૭૦. ૧૭૧. ૧૭૨. ૧૭૩. ૧૭૪. ૧૭૫. ૧૭૬. ૧૭૭. ૧૭૮. ૧૭૯. ૧૮૦. ૧૮૧. ૧૮૨. ૧૮૩. ૧૮૪. ૧૮૫. ૧૮૬. ૧૮૭. ૧૮૮. ૧૮૯. ૧૯૦. ૧૯૧. ૧૯૨. ૧૯૩. ૧૯૪. ૧૯૫. ૧૯૬. ૧૯૭. ૧૯૮. ૧૯૯. ૨૦૦. ૨૦૧. ૨૦૨. ૨૦૩. ૨૦૪. ૨૦૫. ૨૦૬. ૨૦૭. ૨૦૮. ૨૦૯. ૨૧૦. ૨૧૧. ૨૧૨. ૨૧૩. ૨૧૪. ૨૧૫. ૨૧૬. ૨૧૭. ૨૧૮. ૨૧૯. ૨૨૦. ૨૨૧. ૨૨૨. ૨૨૩. ૨૨૪. ૨૨૫. ૨૨૬. ૨૨૭. ૨૨૮. ૨૨૯. ૨૩૦. ૨૩૧. ૨૩૨. ૨૩૩. ૨૩૪. ૨૩૫. ૨૩૬. ૨૩૭. ૨૩૮. 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150,000L, but 250,000L or 300,000L; and to pay such a sum for vague, indefinite, and uncertain justice, was an absurdity which the other House of Parliament never would sanction. Instead of the scheme proposed, he thought it would be better for the Judges to go three, instead of two circuits in the year; and then there would be no ground to complain of the delay of justice. He was glad that the visionary scheme of a Court of Reconciliation, which had signally failed in France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, was abandoned. He had no personal interests to serve by his opposition to this measure: it was not a party question, and he was sure that their Lordships would not treat it as such. He concluded by moving that the bill be read a second time that day three months.

After a pause, followed by a cry of "Question!" Lord Brougham rose to reply. He said, that notwithstanding Lord Lyndhurst's profession of impartiality and fairness, he had never heard a statement

more full of overlooking of the facts of the case,—more full of overlooking of the provisions of the measure to which the noble and learned lord professed to have paid so much attention, and of the recommendations of that report, which he likewise professed deeply to have studied, and on which the present measure was grounded,—a statement more full of unintentional omissions and slight disregard of facts, he had never yet heard, either from the noble and learned lord himself or from any other person.

He proceeded to defend the measure, at great length. He thought that the trading community, whom he had described as the prey of the present system of dear and tardy justice, were full as likely to give a disinterested opinion respecting its operation as the barristers and attorneys, upon whose opinion Lord Lyndhurst placed so much reliance.

Every one of those witnesses—the pettiest tradesman of them all—however ignorant he might be of the law, however prejudiced against the Insolvent Acts, and however ill-qualified to give counsel as to the proper tribunal to be established; every one of them was ten thousand times a better witness to the fact, to prove which alone he had resorted to their evidence, than his noble and learned friend, or that galaxy of talent and honesty to which the noble and learned lord had referred, and of which he was the favourite, if not the chosen advocate—namely, that disinterested body of men, the lawyers in Westminster Hall; the barristers, both town and provincial, high and low; every thing, in short, that belonged to a court of justice, from the registrars down to the clerks, the mace-bearers, and the purse-bearers of the judges; and particularly the solicitors and attorneys, and the solicitors' and attorneys' clerks. (*Cheers and laughter.*)

This was the body to which his noble and learned friend referred, and which was notorious for nothing so much as talent and skill, dexterity, professional acuteness, nimbleness in getting out of difficulty themselves, and getting others into it if they could. (*Laughter.*) It was not, however, for these qualities which the community at large allowed them one and all to possess in an almost unlimited degree, that his noble and learned friend had eulogized them. The theme of the noble and learned lord's panegyric was their purity, their disinterestedness, their self-denial, their entire abnegation of all feeling of self. (*Laughter.*)

The objection to the amendment of the law, though distributed pretty universally, was not distributed equally among lawyers.

Those highest in the profession had the largest proportion of this bad thing, as they usually had of the good things of the law; and, generally speaking, the judges were those who possessed the most deeply-rooted prejudices against any amendment of the law.

He said, that whether you took the number of writs issued or the number of cases tried, it would appear, that not two thirds, but one third only, would be abstracted by his bill from the business of the courts at Westminster Hall.

It was said that the Sheriff's Courts in Scotland did not work well; but he repeated, in contradiction to this assertion, that out of 22,000 cases decided in those courts, only 117 had been carried to a higher tribunal. The courts of Reconciliation too had been sneered at by Lord Lyndhurst; but,

in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than 721,000 cases had been carried before Courts of Reconciliation on the Continent; and of these cases 448,000 were settled by the process of reconciliation. To this he would add, that in 1823, 31,000 cases were brought into the Courts of Reconciliation, and of those 21,000 were settled.

It would be in vain to say that the Courts of Westminster Hall would not flourish—they would, and they ought to flourish.

But this was required, and it was but common justice to ask for this,—that the shame and the scandal and the opprobrium should be removed, of men coming forward, not to give advice, but to state the result of their sufferings under the system; and the result of all that had been brought forward was, that for debts of small amount the subjects of the Crown found themselves in the courts of justice barged of their rights; that the justice of which so much was boasted was only a mockery, and that it was not possible for any one to have it if he had not money in his pocket; that if a man had a debt of 18L due to him, he must pay twice as much to recover it, and that if he failed, however just his claim, he not only lost that, but had enormous costs in addition to submit to; when it was known that in the County Courts, as now constituted, a case had occurred, that for a pound of butter, value 8d., 30L. costs were incurred; when in another case, in the county of Sussex, a man was summoned thirty miles from his home to the County Court to answer for a debt of 5s., which he had paid, and which he paid again sooner than go. But this was nothing, for there was no doubt that many would pay and had paid 5L. rather than submit to expense and inconvenience.

He concluded by reminding the House, that he had brought this measure forward when there was not the least probability of his being in office, and by strenuously denying that the bill was introduced with any idea of its becoming a source of patronage to Government.

The question was then put, and the "Contents" were declared to have it; but one Lord repeated the "Non-contents," and the House was closed for a division. None, however, took place, and their Lordships went into committee on the bill *pro forma*. To be recommitted on Friday, and printed with an amendment proposed by the Lord Chancellor.—*Spectator*, June 22.

THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

...ties who will take the trouble to bully appear to find their advantage in being bullied them, in the very

first days of the session, into placing an Ultra Tory in the Speaker's chair. Soon after, the Court bullied them to a continuation of all Naval and Military Sinecures. Then the Orange faction in Ireland, aided by the Tory faction in England, bullied them into the Turkish Edict called the Irish Coercion Bill. The money-changers of the Temple, the Bank Directors, bullied them into a twenty years' monopoly of the English money-market. The Slave-owners and mortgagees of the West Indies, in ten short days, have bullied them into converting a loan of fifteen millions into a gift of twenty millions, without an equivalent or the semblance of an equivalent. Lastly, and this is the topic of our present consideration, the paltry Directors of the East India Company have hectoring the Whigs into an enormous annuity and a twenty years' lease of the government of eighty millions of British subjects.

On former occasions, we have strongly animadverted on the extravagant terms granted by the Ministry to the East India Company; and since the speech of the President of the Board of Control on the 13th instant, our grounds of objection have become still stronger. The East India Company are to receive an annuity of 630,000L, being the amount of the dividend which the proprietors at present receive. This annuity is to continue for a period of forty years, being at the end of that time redeemable at the rate of 100L sterling for every 5L ss. To secure the payment of this annuity, as well as for the final liquidation of the capital, a guarantee fund is to be formed in England amounting to two millions sterling. The Crown takes over the whole commercial assets of the Company on behalf of the people of India; who become liable, in consideration of this bargain made for them, without their consent being asked or given, for the amount of the annuity. In short, twelve millions sterling, bearing an interest of 5½ per cent. (equal to 21,900,000L of 3 per cent. consols), is added to the national debt of India. Mr. Grant assures us that the payment of the annuity is to be no additional burden upon the people of India; by which he would have us to believe, that the people of India receive a substantial equivalent,—or in other terms, that the commercial assets handed over by the Company are at least equal to the payment or the annuity of 630,000L per annum, or the capital of twelve or twenty-one millions, according to the denomination in which we estimate it. We shall briefly inquire, then, into the right of the East India Company to the annuity proposed to be granted to them; and into the nature of the compromise which a spirited and prudent Government ought to have made for the people of India, in so far as the pecuniary bargain alone is concerned.

Having already discussed the pretended value of the Company's commercial assets, we shall not at present enter into any minute detail. On the 1st of May 1829, the net commercial assets of the Company are computed by themselves to have amounted to twenty-one millions sterling, in so far as England is concerned, or including India, to better than 22,600,000L. Two or three samples will show the reader at a glance, the absurd and extravagant manner in which these assets are computed. Five millions and a half are put down for goods unsold in England, estimated at the market prices. The goods here alluded to consist almost entirely of Tea; which is computed at double the price of the same commodity at Hamburg, or Havre, or Rotterdam. There is here an exaggeration, therefore, equal to at least two millions. The East India House and warehouses are estimated at very nearly 1,800,000L. This bears the aspect of impudent hyperbole upon its face. If put up to the hammer to-morrow, as they ought to be, they would not fetch the odd hundreds of thousands, and the million is a net exaggeration. We have then a pretended debt exceeding 4,600,000L, said to be due by the Indian territory to the Company in its commercial capacity. Of the possibility of such a balance against the territorial department in favour of the commercial, the reader may judge from the results of an account given in by the Accountant General of the India Board for a single year. From this it appears that the ultimate surplus of the whole of the Company's commercial profits, after paying the dividend of 630,000L amounting to no more than 62,893L. The bond-debt, clearly a commercial one, and amounting to more than 3,800,000L, is not deducted from the Company's capital, in the account; and then the territory is to be burdened with the payment of enormous pensions and superannuations to the commercial servants. These pensions amounted in 1830 to above 45,000L; but this is a small affair. There is now to be added to it, with the sanction of the Ministry, annuities and pensions to a variety of parties connected with the commercial department, who are drawing at present salaries and allowances according to the official statements, which amount to 3,981,13L. If these worthies be pensioned on the principle for which the Company has obtained a Parliamentary sanction,—that is, at the rate of two thirds of their present allowances, the people of India will be charged for many a year with a pension-list equal (in round numbers) to about 250,000L per annum. Many of the parties who are to receive these pensions are young men, and even boys. If then we take their average ages at thirty-five, and the interest of money at 4 per cent., a perpetual burden of 3,500,000L is laid on the shoulders of the unhappy Indians, to crown the long jobbing of the East India Company. So much for the fair compromise of the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Control.

And now as to the right or claim of the East India Company to the annuity of 630,000L per annum which has been granted to them. Their original capital stock, or pretended capital stock is six millions sterling; and upon this sum, with ludicrous uniformity, they have paid themselves a dividend of 10½ per cent., in peace and in war, with high profits or low profits, or no profits at all, for forty long years. Two or three times over, they have received authority from parliament to add to their capital, by borrowing, at the rate of 20L for every 100L of nominal capital. In this manner, the proprietors of stock have come to make themselves and the public believe that their capital has actually been doubled; indeed, a good deal more than doubled, for instead of the present market rate of interest of 4 per cent., they have assumed profits at 10½ per cent., and thus raised their 100L to nearly 250L. Allowing them, at the termination of their monopoly, to be solvent, (no trifling concession, considering their prodigality), what the proprietors would have been entitled to from the public on a surrender of their assets, would have been six millions sterling; which, at the market rate of interest, would have given them an annuity of about 240,000L. We have therefore given them on the security of the Indian territory, 390,000L more than they were strictly entitled to; and we have burdened India with a debt exceeding ten millions beyond what was absolutely necessary

not to mention the charge of three millions and a half to meet the commercial pension-list.

We formerly admitted, and we still admit, that the proprietors of India Stock have so long deluded themselves, or been deluded through the alliance of their executive body with the Tory Government of the country, into a belief that their 100L of Stock was really worth 200L, that it was necessary to assume this principle as a matter of mere expediency in making a fair compromise with them. It was by no means necessary, however, that the interest should be fixed, not only now, but for forty years—indeed, virtually in perpetuity—at the rate of 5½ per cent. That rate of interest might have been just and proper in a period of war, when the market rate of interest in this country was 5, 6, 7, and even 8 per cent.; but it is, at present unjustifiably extravagant; and to fix it so in perpetuity, amounts to terms to unparadise prodigality. It is perfectly clear that no such favourable terms were contemplated on the Stock Exchange by the proprietors or the public. This is easily proved, by a reference to dates. In the months of June and July, and in the beginning of August 1832, the Bank of England Stock and India Stock were exactly the same price—viz. from 199 to 200 per cent., although the dividend on the one was but 8 per cent. and that on the other was 1½ per cent. On the 26th of August, after the publication of the Commons Report on the Bank, which was considered unfavourable, the Stock of the latter fell to 185, India Stock maintaining its price. On the 24th March, Bank Stock was at 198 and India Stock at 208. Had the latter, at this moment, been considered of equal value to the first, it ought to have been very nearly 260. It is clear, then, that up to this time, nothing beyond the then market price of the Stock was expected by the holders. Next day, the Government project was published, and India Stock rose, in half an hour from 208 to 223. As early as the 6th of April, our prediction was conveyed in the following terms—"The Stock will rise first to some 230, and in no long time, to not probably less than 250." This has nearly taken place, for the Stock has actually been at 249.

It is pretended by the Ministry and their friends, that the high rate at which they have calculated the annuity (10½ per cent.), was no more than equivalent to the necessary difference between the Indian and European security offered to the Stockholders. There is not the slightest foundation for this pretext. The very parties who are now in the position of creditors, have been themselves, at various times, borrowers in India, to the extent of no less than forty millions sterling, upon the simple security of the Indian territory,—or rather, the supposed security of the territory; for down to the present moment, Parliament has never given even this guarantee, and proposes only to do so in the bill which is now to be introduced. Of this Indian territorial debt, upwards of eight millions and a half have been borrowed at 6 per cent., the interest being demandable in England by such of the holders as reside in England. This part of the debt, bearing but one half per cent. more interest than is now given to the India Stockholders, was at a premium of 35 per cent. in January last. Not less than twenty millions of this debt have been borrowed at the rate of 5 per cent.; and although the interest is not of right payable in England to any party, even this was at a premium, in some cases, as high as 5 per cent. Of the Indian debt, a small portion (about 250,000L) has been borrowed, of late years, at so low an interest as 4 per cent.; and even this by the last accounts was at a discount of no more than from one half to one per cent.,—which was in fact, little more than a brokerage. It is most obvious from this circumstance, that the East India Company had no right to better terms as creditors than they gave to others as borrowers; and it will scarcely appear doubtful, that the demand of a guarantee fund of three millions in England (for that was the amount asked for) on the part of those who never dreamt of obtaining for their Indian creditors a territorial security under Parliamentary sanction, is an example of modest assurance not easily paralleled.

The just and fair course towards all parties, permitting the Company to compute every 100L of their capital Stock at 200L, would have been, to reduce the rate of dividend or interest from 10½ per cent. to 8 per cent., on the same principle (and surely the holder of Indian Stock had, to say the least, no better claim) as was pursued with the holders of Navy Five per cents. in 1821. The Indian Stocks would have maintained the prices which they bore before the promulgation of the Government's scheme; and without injury to any party, an immediate saving to the State would have accrued, equal to 150,000L per annum. But, as was the case with the British fund alluded to, the 8 per cent. ought to have been reduced to 7 after a period of seven years; and finally, should the 3½ per cents. be at 100, to 6 per cent. This would have produced an annual saving, in the first case of 210,000L, and in the last of 27,000L; a sum sufficient to defray all the charges of the Home Government of India, and to pay for all the incumbrances which have sprung out of the commercial mismanagement of two centuries. If we compare the rise which has taken place in East India Stock, with that in the Public Funds,—in such heavy stocks, for instance, as the Four or the new Three-and-a-half,—we shall see at once that the rise in the first amounts to a clear excess of about 20 per cent. Without anticipating any further advance (which however, by the way is quite certain—for we anticipate from 260 to 265), should the Public Funds continue to advance, it will appear from this statement, that the Ministers have already agreed to give a check on the helpless Indians for about two millions and a half sterling, as a bribe to the East India Company to hold their tongues—to be quiet and give them no trouble.

We have already denounced the absurd as well as shameful and impolitic part of the Government project, which grants to the proprietors of East India Stock, a twenty years' lease of the administration of eighty millions of people. Lord Grey might as well make a patent office of the Treasury, or Mr. Charles Grant secure to himself a life-interest in the Presidency of the Board of Control, as the Whig Ministry give a lease of the government of a people to the old men, old women, or young children, who have heretofore, according to the circumstances in which they have been placed, been only remarkable for their mismanagement or incapacity when left to themselves, or their servility and subservience to power when under control. Our Whig Conservatives no doubt flatter themselves that they have fixed the destinies of India for twenty years together, by placing it in paper fetters; but they will find themselves much deceived. The sea will roll on despite the Canutes of Cannon Row and Leadenhall Street.

In conclusion, we state, as a matter of common justice, that there are two portions of the Government project extremely well accomplished. The Tea-trade and commerce of China are thrown open, in a spirit equally liberal and comprehensive; and

the principles on which the colonization or settlement of Englishmen in India is proposed to be established, are of a similar character. The rest of the scheme, with the exception of an insulated detail here and there, is entitled only to our reprobation. It is poor in design, and clumsy and expensive in execution.—*Spectator*, June 22.

SPECTATOR. JUNE 22.

We perceive from the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, delivered this morning, that Mr. Henry Bulwer intends to bring on his motion respecting the national Expenditure on Tuesday next. The resolutions which he proposes to submit on this all-important subject are concise but comprehensive.

"1st. That it is the duty of this House, which was reformed more especially on account of the extravagance of former Parliaments, to make every possible reduction in our Expenditure. 2. That it is possible to reduce the expense without diminishing the efficiency, or interfering with the objects, of our Civil departments. 3. That the cost of our Military Establishments is also capable of reduction. 4. That all Pensions not conferred for public services, and that all Sinecure Offices for which no personal services have been rendered, as well as all compensations for such offices when abolished, be resumed; unless important public claims, or very peculiar circumstances, can be alleged to the contrary; and that a Select Committee be appointed to arrange the details of such reductions."

We are at a loss to think upon what solid ground any faithful Representative of the People can oppose these resolutions. A very large majority of the House of Commons were returned upon the clear understanding, and in many instances, under a distinct pledge, to do their utmost to effect the objects therein indicated. Sinecures, we know, will not be openly defended; and there is the authority of the Secretary at War, for those who require Ministerial authority for the fact, that the expense of the Army may be reduced. But the country is not, and its representatives ought not to be, satisfied with the promise of reduction made by an officer of the Government removable at pleasure, however honourable and excellent a man that officer may be. It is the duty of the House to record its solemn declaration, that the cost of the Army, as well as of the Civil departments, should be lessened. We trust that nothing will prevent Mr. Bulwer from bringing on this motion,—that the entreaties of Lord Althorp, who, as an Irish member said the other night, had smiled the independent members into a relinquishment of almost every motion likely to effect practical good, will be stubbornly resisted by him. Then, by all means, let Mr. Bulwer press the motion to a division; and he may depend upon it that the names of his supporters, opponents, and the absentees, will be carefully noted for the benefit of their constituents. It is really high time that something should be done to distinguish the present from preceding Parliaments; and we can hardly bring ourselves to believe it possible that a majority of the Reformed House of Commons will reject a motion for a practicable and safe reduction of expenditure. We rely, however, upon Mr. Bulwer's giving the country an opportunity of forming a correct opinion on this point on Tuesday next.

FRANCE.

In the French Chamber of Deputies, on Tuesday, Marshal Clausel called upon the Government to give him a specific reply to the following questions respecting the occupation of Algiers—

"1st. Is it the intention of the Government to occupy only the points of the African coast and the Regency of Algiers which it now holds, or to extend the occupation to other points? 2d. Is it the intention of Government to colonize Algiers? 3d. Is it the intention of Government to evacuate Algiers?"

Marshal Soult, the President of the Council, replied to these questions, amidst profound silence,—a most unusual state of things in the French Chamber. He said,

"On the first, I can only say that we have formed no specific determination. We now occupy the three principal points of the territory; and if it should appear necessary or convenient, either for the security of those points, or any other reason, to extend the occupation to other points, there is no difficulty in our doing so; but at present we have come to no determination on the subject. As to the question of colonization, our intention is to favour it as much as possible. If companies present themselves who will undertake to colonize Algiers at their own expense, they may depend on receiving every protection from Government which they can desire; but we do not consider it the interest of Government to undertake the colonization on its own responsibility. In reply to the third question of the honourable Marshal, I have to repeat, that the Government has placed itself under no engagement whatever with any Power relative to the evacuation of Algiers, but is perfectly free to act in that respect as it thinks proper; but I will add, that up to this moment Government has not entertained the remotest idea of evacuating Algiers; on the contrary, all its measures tend to fortify the security of its occupation, and to encourage by every means in its power the colonization of the country by private individuals or companies."

As the Government of Louis Philip undertook to make good all the diplomatic engagements of the Bourbons, and as the Bourbons had solemnly assured the Duke of Wellington that they had no views whatever of conquest in their African expedition, the above declaration of the French Prime Minister does not speak very well for the good faith of his master, or for his own.

One of the French journals, the *Tribune*, contains the following account of a conversation between the Viscount Chateaubriand and Charles

Tenth, relative to the mishap of the Dutchess de Berri.

The conduct of the Dutchess has been very improper," said the old King; "it is an unfortunate affair both for herself and for me; but I, who have not forgotten my own youth, should be the last to be severe with the weaknesses of a poor woman. When one has been guilty of as many errors as I have, he should make allowances for other people. I will not receive her here without her husband; but she may come if accompanied by him, and the wrongs which she has done her children and ourselves shall be forgotten."

When the Viscount thanked Charles for his indulgence, and congratulated himself on the success of his mission, and paid his Majesty some courteous compliments, he replied—"Let not that surprise you; I have forgotten all; I have no longer any feeling against anybody. I am now nothing but an unhappy old man, who has finished his part in the drama of this world."

The Dutchess D'Angoulême is said to be very much incensed against the Dutchess de Berri; she is almost always weeping for grief at the disgrace which she has brought upon the name of the Bourbons. The Duke D'Angoulême is more resigned.—*Spectator*, June 22.

SPECTATOR.—JUNE, 29,

THE consequences of the govt. when sufferer is a Cabinet Minister and Leader of the House of Commons, may be very serious in a national point of view. Lord Althorp, whose illness arising from this malady prevented his attendance in the House, during the debate on the withdrawal of the 14th clause from the Irish Church Reform Bill, was unable to resume his seat till Thursday night. Several interesting and important motions were on this account postponed; and among them that of Mr. Henry L. Bulwer for a reduction of expenditure, and Mr. Buckingham's respecting the imprisonment of seamen. This was a convenient arrangement for Mr. Stanley who contrived to push the Irish Church Bill through the Committee in the absence of his colleague,—not, however, without another concession to his Conservative allies or opponents, who insisted upon exempting all beneficiaries under three hundred pounds a year from the taxation imposed by the bill.

The motion of Colonel Torrens to postpone the consideration of the Bank question till next session, was rejected last night by a majority of 237; the numbers being 316 to 83. The danger of delay appeared to be the principal inducement for the House to come to this decision. Ministers have brought the question into such a state, that although to proceed is acknowledged to be perilous, yet it is felt that to stay where we are would be an alternative more hazardous still. Colonel Torrens quoted the opinion of Lord Althorp's own Committee of last session in favour of postponement. That Committee ended their report with the confession, that they had only partially investigated the subject, and were consequently incompetent to recommend any particular course of proceeding; and no additional information has since been communicated to the House. Sir Henry Parnell also reminded Lord Althorp of his promise that the Committee should be reappointed in the next session, in order that both sides of the question might be seen; that promise, however, as is well known, has not been kept. Lord Althorp did not make the slightest attempt to justify the inconsistency of his practice and professions on this point. The decision of the Committee last night only goes to declare the expediency of renewing the Charter: the terms of that renewal must be the subject of future discussion.

In the House of Lords, the Slavery resolutions were agreed to, on Tuesday, without amendment, but after a long and sharp debate. The Duke of Wellington exerted, with tolerable success, his very humble abilities as a speaker and legislator; to pick holes in the Government plan; his Grace's time would have been better employed in suggesting some useful and feasible amendments in it. In a subject overwhelmed with difficulties, and in which we have only the choice of evils, it requires no great acumen to select the vulnerable points and to pierce them deeply, and the Duke made that a party question which ought to have been discussed with an absence of all party feeling. Certainly the tame and broken-down harangue with which poor Lord Ripon introduced the subject, afforded no pretence for such a display of Anti-Ministerial carping. Lord Ellenborough distinguished himself by a speech full of smart inconsistencies, and a defence of slavery in the abstract. He was handled rather roughly by Lord Brougham; and although the Baron is thick-skinned, we suspect that he smarted under the operation. The Bishops, who were so eager to testify their approbation of Don Miguel and despotism, shrunk from any display of Christian sympathy with the sufferings of their oppressed fellowmen in the Colonies: only two of them took sufficient interest in the subject to enable them to sit through the debate. It is now our almost weekly duty to record some instance of the means which our church dignitaries employ, with so much success, to alienate from their body the respect and attachment of the laity.

The Jewish Relief Bill went through the Committee of the House of Commons on Wednesday. About twenty obstinate adherents to antiquated bigotry, fitly headed by Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Johnstone, fought their battle bravely, and divided the Committee no fewer than five times, on motions for adjournment, amendments to the various clauses. They were defeated by majorities of about one. Mr. Plumptre, the bright member of Kent, hit upon an ingenious mode of trying the measure; he proposed that

the Jewish member of Parliament should be compelled to swear upon the true faith of a Christian.

We are not sure that our Reforming brethren North of the Tweed will be gratified ever much by the result of the several attempts made on Wednesday night to amend the Ministerial bill for the new regulation of the Royal Burghs. Mr. Jeffrey pertinaciously resisted every proposition to lower the qualification of voters for municipal officers. He was very nearly defeated, however, on a motion of Sir John Hay for that purpose,—the numbers being 54 to 53, leaving him a majority of one only. We observe, that in the course of these divisions, the number of Scotch members who voted was about thirty; where were the other twenty-three? To a subject so interesting and important to their constituents, their attention might surely have been vouchsafed.

Mr. FINCH, the independent representative of the Marquis of Exeter for Stamford, moved a resolution on Thursday condemnatory of Political Unions; which he described as being productive of unmix mischief in the land. So, no doubt, thinks his lordly patron, and the whole race of (we grieve to say) only half demolished Boroughmongers. Mr. FINCH proved himself the faithful organ of Lord Exeter, but what must the spirited and insulted Reformers of Stamford think of the mass of Conservative absurdity which their self-styled representative delivered on the occasion? On the whole, however, we ought not to be unthankful to Mr. Finch; for, in the first place, he called forth the only lively debate which has occurred in the House of Commons during the week; secondly, he elicited, in the declaration of Lord Althorp that Political Unions were not in themselves illegal or injurious, a set-off against the truly aristocratical denunciation of them by Lords Grey and Melbourne in the Lords; and finally, he showed up his own party to the country in the miserable minority of ten. It is to Mr. Charles Buller, however, that we owe the record of the names of the ten wise individuals who composed Mr. Finch's minority, for the latter was forced to divide, sorely against his inclination. Mr. Buller, as a reward for his wagger in calling out "the Noes have it," was named by the Speaker to act as teller on the division; so that, for once, his own name figures in an anti-popular minority.

Mr. ELLICE, we are gratified to state, has virtually adopted Mr. Hume's proposition to restrict the punishment of military flogging, within the United Kingdom, to the offences of mutiny and drunkenness on duty. The order to this effect is already prepared, and will speedily be promulgated.

THE CRISIS.

Tait's EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.—Since the passing of the Reform Bill, ministers have been at the feet of the Tories—and now they are spurned. Their posture of weakness and pusillanimity has had its deserts. To propitiate the Tories was the whole end of their policy. The satisfaction of the people was as nothing compared with that object. Popularity was deemed well lost, while any softening, any appeasement of Tory rancour, was supposed to be gained. Upon this homage the Tories recovered confidence and insolence, while ministers not only lost ground in public esteem, but made enemies of a large portion of the people. Lord John Russell has frankly avowed that insufficient measures have been framed with a view to the toleration of the House of Tories. Quite clear it has long been that the ministry has hoped to propitiate Tory opposition, by adopting Tory policy. They have had the amazing folly to believe that the Tories would be content to see them in place, provided they administered the affairs of the country in the spirit of Toryism. The Tories, however, not unreasonably, argued that, if the government was to be conducted according to their views, it should be conducted by their party. They could not see what right the Whigs had to be in, while they adopted the councils, or deferred to the judgment of those whom they had thrown out. Indeed, it is certain, that if the Whigs had found reason in office for changing their opinions on many subjects which had been the grounds of the severest and most effective attacks on the Tories when in power, honesty required that they should humble themselves to the Tories, admit the injustice they had long done them, and the erroneous ground upon which they had disgraced and displaced them. Doubtless it must have been exasperating to the Tories to see the Whigs falling into the very practices for which they had been ousted from their places. The Tories, perceiving the popular discontent which followed, and naturally disposed to infer a consciousness of extreme weakness, from the abject bearing of the ministry towards themselves, were encouraged to try their strength; and, accordingly, their leaders in the Lords picked a quarrel, and struck a blow, which denoted the commencement of hostilities. The House of Tories censured the course pursued by ministers towards the Portuguese belligerents. The House of Whigs forthwith passed a vote of approbation. The two Houses were thus in collision; but truth requires the admission, that the act of collision was the act of the Commons.

From the passing of the Reform Bill up to the hour of that vote, the name of the people had seldom been mentioned by ministers or their creatures, except to point the moral of patience, and a confiding spirit in the superior authorities; or to level censures against agitation, and meddling with the concerns of the state. The people were partly reminded that they had representatives who should take out of their hands all active concern in public affairs; but, from the instant that there appeared a majority against ministers in the Lords, the people grew into

sudden importance with the organs of the government, and loud and vehement were the appeals to their judgment, and the threats of their vengeance. The talk was no longer that the people had their organ in representation; the people were invoked for the purpose of terrorism in the might of their masses. The people, whose strongest opinions and loudest demands, would, a week before, have been treated as destitute of reason and authority were now called upon to exercise a supreme judgment. They, whose remonstrances with the Commons would have been rebuked as intrusive, and dismissed as unworthy of attention, and degrading to the dignity of Parliament, were conjured to testify their displeasure and resentment at the proceeding of the Press; and broadly was it intimated, that their interference would not end with an expression of censure; and that from the correction of one institution it would ascend to a new disposal of another. Nothing was ever more ludicrous than the sudden exaltation of the people into importance in the ministerial prints, which, for months past, had never mentioned them but with slight, or to bid them implicitly trust the guidance of public affairs to the wisdom of Parliament. The appeal was not answered. The people were not to be so whistled on and whistled off at pleasure. For the opposition of the Lords to the ministry which had preferred trucking to them to satisfying the people, the people cared not a rush. The ministry had thought the support of the people nothing in comparison with the propitiation of the Lords; the ministry had refused to rely on the strength of the people; and why was the despised and neglected power to be lent to them when the system of trucking to the enemy, so odious to the public feeling, and so injurious to the public interests, had failed, as such despicable policy always ought to fail? The people have not stirred to the rescue of the ministry. They have acknowledged no obligation to redeem errors committed at their expense. They know what to think of the character of the House of Lords; but, with an enemy on one side, and a deserter on the other, they will leave the combatants to settle their quarrel as they best can, and hold themselves in reserve to cope with the conqueror, and the use he may make of his victory. Things have been brought to such a pass, that, for the House of Lords, there seems to be no redemption. If they submit, having so decidedly manifested their dispositions, they sink into the insignificance of a subservient body. If they be overborne by a creation, the majority is by royal appointment, and the House but an extension of the power of the crown. In any case, the foundation of the institution has been brought under examination; and it is seen to rest on custom only. For a hereditary legislature no reasonable arguments can be furnished—a hereditary college of surgeons were as wise—and its safety consisted in avoiding offence, and not provoking scrutiny in its title to authority. * * * Seeing the indifference of the people, the Tories are aware of an advantage which they don't think it prudent to press home. The Lords believe they could turn out the ministry; but they apprehend that a ministry of their party would be inextricably embarrassed by the pending measures left on their hands. Whether this apprehension be well grounded or not, it actuates their conduct, and will induce appearances of forbearance which may be mistaken for proofs of an altered policy. They bide their time. Meanwhile the Whigs play their game by crying "Wolf!" It was rumoured that the Local Courts Bill would be thrown out; the Lords seemed moderate, therefore, in refraining from doing what they thought would not serve their cause. To throw out the Irish Church Bill, may also be premature, the West India measure being unsettled. As for the bill itself, no one, out of the high-church party, cares a jot for its fate; but, as a sign of the resolution of the Peers to oppose any breaking of the ground for church reform, its rejection would rouse the indignation of England, and the fiercest resentment of Ireland. The church is the rock on which the Tories must split; and in the first demonstration of protection to its abuses, the Lords will be cast away.—*Atlas*, June 30.

THE WEST INDIA BUBBLE.

Major Beauclerk compliments Ministers on the manly manner in which they have grappled with the difficulties of the West India question. It seems to us that they have grappled very vigorously with the public purse and with nothing else. Whatever may be doubtful in the working of the project, one thing is certain, that the people of England will have to pay twenty millions for it. And here must be a subject of serious regret to ministers—seeing the facility with which a loan of fifteen millions was converted into a grant of twenty millions in the House of Whigs; it must cut them to the soul to think that they did not propose a loan of twenty millions and push it on to a grant of twenty-five at least. The temper of the House shows that any thing may be had of it in the way of expenditure; nor is this all, for to do it justice it has not shown any niggardly hand in coercion. To the West India planters it gives off hand twenty millions—to the Irish people a disturbance Bill—to the Irish parsons money. Seeing these obliging dispositions, Ministers must, we are confident, regret the moderation of their demands. The trustees of the nation don't know how to say No to any request that comes from his Majesty's Ministers. The new House is grateful to its maker—it is as Grey made it, and is ready to offer any sacrifice to the authors of its being—but the people are the victims.

It was generally thought that enough was not had for the fifteen millions at first proposed;

but upon the grounds on which Mr. Stanley has advanced to the grant of twenty millions, it is only surprising that he stopped there, for his advisers as to the amount of the compensation have been the West India proprietors! The very young Colonial Secretary explains:—

He thought it best to deal freely and frankly with the House, and to state to them and to the public that which he confessed had weighed with his mind, and that which had weighed with the Government, in proposing the grant of a larger sum than that of fifteen millions; and that ground was, that every one connected with West India property, without any exception whatever, stated that the sum of fifteen millions would be inadequate to the loss they must suffer.

No doubt they said so. No doubt they find even the twenty millions inadequate. Under this guidance, instructed in the equity of the compensation by the party to be compensated, it is only amazing that Mr. Stanley stops at the twenty millions; but perhaps this is only a step; probably he will ascend, and as fifteen is to twenty, twenty will be to the sum required. As to Mr. Stanley he will not condescend to dispute about millions. He talks of three, four, or five millions as "a pitiful saving." He is like the sailor in a geographical question, who said he would not haggle for a handful of degrees. Three, four, or five millions is "a pitiful saving," but is the sum so pitiful when it is asked in the remission of taxation? Lord Althorp protests that the revenue cannot bear the reduction of a million, and how will the people bear the imposition of a million? An immense revenue which cannot bear reduction is as ill able to bear increase. Some compensation must be made, we admit, and England must afford it; but there is property which might be made available to lessen the burthen in taxation, (for one source, the fund which will accrue from the sale of Bishops' leases in Ireland,) and the compensation should be pared down to the lowest that can be claimed in equity, for never was there a more questionable case for it. True it is that our ancestors in their wisdom gave legislative encouragement to the slave trade, but it was not the express ground of the great benefit of the traffic to the mother country, and on the same ground of the national interest the protection afforded might at any time be withdrawn.—*Examiner*, June 16.

UNITED STATES.

A statement has been published in the New York papers on the subject of the gold coinage of the United States, which is curious, as showing the great degree in which the Union is indebted to her own soil for that valuable product. It appears that the gold mines of North Carolina produced the last year about drs. 916,000. In 1829, the product was drs. 268,000; in 1830 drs. 408,000; and in 1831 drs. 588,000, showing an increase the last year of drs. 328,000. These mines furnished for the Philadelphia Mint last year 458,000 drs. The total amount for the last ten years from that state is drs. 1,913,000; Georgia, for the last year, supplied drs. 140,000; Virginia drs. 84,000; South Carolina 245,000; Tennessee drs. 1,000. This makes in all drs. 678,000, but as only one half the product of the mines, is supposed to find its way to the Mint, the total of gold found in the United States during the last year was probably not less than drs. 1,500,000.

The amount of coinage at Philadelphia, last year, was drs. 3,401,655; gold, drs. 793,435; silver, drs. 2,579,000; cents, drs. 28,620. Of the gold, about drs. 80,000 came from Mexico, South America, and the West Indies; drs. 28,900 from Africa; and the residue as above.

It has been stated in some of the American, and copied from thence into the English, papers, that the late Mr. Randolph, senator for the state of Virginia, died worth 1,000,000 dollars, consisting of "plantations, horses, slaves, dogs, and Bank stock." The notion is however, ridiculed as absurd by the better informed of the United States' journals, and the known reputation here of the individual, together with the characteristic way in which the current fallacies relating to him are exposed, will justify the quotation of a short passage on the subject. The notion that Mr. Randolph would have thought it almost a crime to be a holder of "Bank stock" is highly amusing:—

"The proneness to exaggerate the wealth of the southern planters, and the profits of their capital, has often been ridiculed by the southern men, and, in this instance, will amuse them not a little. Millionaires are as scarce in Virginia as they are elsewhere. The planter who can make the two ends of the year meet must be a good manager; and the tobacco planter, who can preserve his estate any length of time, even by selling every year a number of his slaves, is esteemed fortunate and thrifty. The Roanoke plantations were probably more valuable when tobacco sold at 30 dollars a hundred than they are now when it is worth about four dollars. That little capital has even been accumulated there, any one may easily satisfy himself by glancing at the present state of that country. Mr. Randolph's systematic economy achieved wonders in his private affairs. His estate, encumbered as it was when he took possession of it, would have been worth but very little to a man of less prudence than himself. He has been heard to describe the desperate situation of his affairs when, at the age of 21, he, for the first time, put his foot on his paternal lands, and sat down under an ancient oak, ruminating on his condition. His success as a planter he has often adverted to with honourable exultation; and he would have been nettled rather than flattered had he seen a sketch of his life, lately published in Philadelphia, beginning with 'Born to a princely inheritance, &c. Mr. Randolph would have had with disdain the charge

a Bank stockholder. He had an aversion to banks, and was never concerned in one.

"That Mr. Randolph was rich there is no doubt, and that he had become so under many disadvantages is highly honourable to him. The amount of his property is a matter of no importance; but having referred to exaggerated accounts of it, we give the following estimate, which is not far from being correct:—4,000 acres of river land, averaging drs. 20 per acre, drs. 8,000; 200 negroes, at drs. 300 each, drs. 60,000; horses, carriages, and furniture drs. 15,000; books and wine, drs. 10,000; ready cash, drs. 10,000;—making an aggregate of drs. 175,000."—*Times*, July 1.

THE KING! GOD BLESS HIM.

THE King ought to dine where it pleases him: it is not at dinner where mischief is done. If Ministers are not able to afford their Sovereign to dine in any company that suits his fancy, they are poor creatures. If they are not satisfied with their official intercourse, there are proper modes of expressing it, without setting their newspaper organs to pipe a most dolorous lament on any of these occasions. We have much more reason to complain of their leaving the Army in the hands of the Tories, than they have of the King going to dine with any of his distinguished subjects. It is not in this piddling way that liberal objects are to be effected. Let the King, when he acts simply as an individual, do as it likes him: but let his Ministers proceed straightforward to carry the great measures of which, as they said, the Reform Bill was but as the means to an end.

The King is an amiable old man, full of all those expansive feelings that so commonly distinguish the sailor: let him indulge them—natural feelings on a throne are not so very common as to be despised. It seems he had the Waterloo-men, now Police-men, attending in the Duke's hall on the 18th, to drink with the gorgeous assembly of military rank, the health of the General on the great day which made them all. Is this an additional offence? did not his Majesty mean something—had it not some reference to Cully's affair? Then he shook hands with an old servant of the Duke—kind old fellow! The mere Whigs may cry out against this familiarity with the retainers even of a Tory household; but we admire the man who has escaped all the chilling influence of a court, and whom, in spite of the rude trammels that ministers and placemen would impose upon him, feels after all that he is more a man than a king. —*Spectator*, June 22.

PARLIAMENTARY FAILURES.

THERE has been agitation enough in the new House of Commons for its newest members to have, as the phrase is, "found the level." On looking about, it may be seen that the true level is in the House of Commons, then certain high reputations have fallen desperately low. Cobbett, for instance, of whom much was expected, and who really set out by performing something that showed he wanted neither presence nor elocution to enable him to succeed, is now, nearly at the end of the session, one of the least-considered persons in the House, and what is more feels himself to be such. O'Connell, who can wield other assemblies as Hercules managed his club, has no weight in the Commons: he possesses every species of art and talent, resorted to in oratory—has voice, manner, passion, and imagination; and yet his exhibition is, it may be said, a total failure. To these might be added several names: one only need be mentioned. Mr. Roebuck showed, at Bath, knowledge, readiness, and a power of convincing an auditory: in the House, his speeches, save one or two in the beginning, have all wanted effect; they were mere *idea*, and fell upon the House like snow upon the water—a moment white, then gone for ever. He is now therefore, only suffered. And yet of the members of the House who are listened to with great attention, and whose opinions influence those of others, how few are there whose talents or acquirements are to be compared with the abilities of any one of these three examples of failure! What is the cause? Is it that these men are thought insincere that they are merely acting a part, and that the House cannot bear hypocrisy? Look at Sir Robert Peel, the most consummate actor in the House: in this alone he equals, nay surpasses, O'Connell; and yet no member is listened to with the same anxiety of attention that he is. Is it the want of what is called a stake in the country? Some of the most successful members of the House of Commons, such as Sheridan, Burke, Canning—not to mention living men—have not had either a stake in the country or a stake in town. Is it want of social respectability? Is it want of what is termed "high character?"—meaning, we presume, unimpeachable integrity. It is not: this will not account for failure in the instances alluded to, for it does not exist against all of them: and on the other hand, Parliamentary success is not infrequent in the case of persons of blemished reputation. What is it, then?

Success in the House of Commons is curiously made up, and it is not easy to analyze its constituent sources. Great wealth is not a necessary qualification, but it is a useful adjunct: the serious charge of being an "adventurer" cannot be thrown out against the possessor of large property. But property alone will do nothing: some of the richest men in the House dare not open their mouths in it. The same may be said of an exalted private character: this is, however, hardly ever thought to exist but when accompanied with wealth, or after long trial. Neither will a knowledge of facts and a familiarity with all the refinements of theory prevail: both are seen to fail every day—it would be invidious to enu-

merate instances. Oratory, higher de-

grees of excellence, has been seen to command the attention of the House,—as in the case of Mr. Macaulay, who came into it with the injurious reputation of being a reviewer and a genius: but we see far greater influence than his constantly obtained without any of his claims to rhetoric. And even rhetoricians as good as himself, though not so agreeable to the ear of a drowsy audience, have failed: witness the arch-reviewer, Mr. Jeffrey. What is it then? The true source of power in the House of Commons is, in our opinion, the being able to convince it that you are on all occasions a *safe practical guide*. Constituted as this assembly is, in the course of long debates, and the discussion of multifarious subjects, is very commonly—what with imperfect knowledge, sleep, and the confusion of too much business—falls into a puzzled state: it wants to have the matter settled: it wants to see its way. If the Minister shows that he will have his way, or go out, or dissolve Parliament, why then the matter is simplified: it comes to this—shall we turn him out, or be turned out; and then a guide is scarcely wanted. Speeches are listened to for sport, or decency. But if the Minister wishes to throw responsibility on the House,—or if he be not a very clear-headed person, and really perhaps, has not much will, and less mind,—or if the Minister and the country are at variance,—then the great anxiety is so to conduct business that no egregious blunder be made. In such circumstances, great is the relief when a safe and practical guide gets up and helps the House through the mire. A safe practical guide, however, is not to be met with every day. He must be a true man of business; he must not be given to the charms of theory, as new projects are called; he must not be liable to be called an adventurer; his motives must all be unsuspected, save of a reasonable hankering after power; he must be a thorough master of all he attempts to meddle with, no matter how small the detail may be; and he must be capable of dressing up his advice in such a manner as to show that he himself is perfectly clear in his own view and is ready to meet all comers. A safe practical guide may now and then touch upon subjects he does not understand; but it must always be in the way of warning or caution; and, indeed, the general burden of his oratory should be, *not too fast*: "Here is a short way out of this business for the present, the rest must be postponed for more deliberate consideration: the safe thing is this, vote so and so, and there is nothing to prevent the House from getting home." *Festina lente* is the motto. Such a man will always prevail with the House of Commons. He may despise the arts of oratory, the influence of wealth; he will be able to compete even with the bands of party, and it will never be long before such a man is backed by powerful aristocratical aid. It is only the Newspapers that keep up the experimentalists in the House. It is understood there are two classes of speakers,—they who speak for the House and its guidance, and they who address the public for its guidance. There are light-armed irregulars, who are in neither class, but who sooner or later fall into them, or fall out of the House. —*Spectator*, June 22.

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

The criminal information against Josiah Phillips for a libel on the Duke of Cumberland, contained in a book entitled *Authentic Records of the Court of England for the last Seventy Years*, of which Phillips was the printer and publisher, was tried on Tuesday, in the Court of King's Bench. Sir Charles Wetherell stated the case for the Duke of Cumberland. The libel consisted in a detail of the circumstances which occurred at the time of the death of Sellis, the Duke's servant, who is supposed to have first attempted the murder of his master and then to have killed himself. The object of the writer of this account was evidently to insinuate that the Duke of Cumberland had murdered his servant, and then inflicted some slight wounds upon himself in order to give the appearance of having been attacked in bed by him. The motive for the perpetration of this crime was intimated to be a desire to get rid of Sellis, who had detected his Royal Highness with another man-servant named Neffe. The person and mind of the Duke were said to accord perfectly, both being hideous. Every attempt was made, as the libel further declared, to obtain a false verdict from the Coroner's Jury; the first Jury being dismissed as refractory, and a second more accommodating one being summoned, who returned a verdict that Sellis had died by his own hand. A principal witness, named Joseph Joux, was in the meanwhile kept out of the way; and part of a statement of particulars respecting Sellis's death, said to have been made by this man to the late Lord Ellenborough, was given in the book as the real account of the matter. This evidence contradicted the story of the witnesses before the Coroner's Jury in several important points; especially those which related to the appearance of Sellis when lying in bed with his throat cut—the place where the razor was found, at a distance from the bed—the basin filled with bloody water, as if some one had first murdered the man, and then washed his hands in it—and other particulars. The evidence adduced on the part of the Duke of Cumberland went to refute all these charges. The statement of Sir Everard Home (since deceased) was read, as to the severity of the wounds received by the Duke, and of that by which Sellis was killed; which was described to be long and regular, and unquestionably to have been inflicted by Sellis himself. Sellis's coat was hanging upon a chair at a distance from the bed; his position was unchanged, and there was not the least appearance of his having struggled with an assassin. The shirt and pillow of the Duke of Cumberland were found deluged with blood: his night-ribband, which was wadded—the

cap, scalp, and skull—were obliquely divided, so that the pulsations of the arteries of the brain were distinguishable. Sir Benjamin Stephenson, and Sir Wathen Waller confirmed the statement of Sir E. Home. The Duke was said to have suffered excessive; so that he screamed out when any one touched the bedclothes, and could not bear the scratching of a pen when any one wrote in the room. Mr. Adams, the Coroner, and Mr. Francis Place, the foreman of the Jury which sat upon the body of Sellis, gave very decided testimony as to the regular mode in which the inquest was conducted, and the perfect conviction on the minds of the Jury that Sellis had murdered himself. Every thing was done properly; the inquest was an open one; and fifty or sixty persons were going in and coming out while it was in progress. Joseph Joux, the man upon whose supposed statement to Lord Ellenborough so much of the libel was founded, was called as a witness, and utterly denied every thing attributed to him in it: all that was stated respecting himself was false. The Duke of Cumberland also appeared, and stated the circumstances of the attack upon him; it was made, he said, about two or three in the morning on the 31st May 1810, by a man with a sabre, who cut at him in bed, and followed him out of the room into the passage, striking at him wherever he could. The evidence to prove the utter falsehood of the charges against the Duke was very complete; and the Jury, without hesitation, found the defendant guilty of the libel. —*Spectator*, June 27.

THE PUBLIC OF THE LAST CENTURY.

There are words in the English language which are always used in the same sense but in all succeeding ages mean different degrees of the things: they are as elastic as Mrs. Shoolbred's patent stays, which accommodate themselves to every variation of the married female form. Two of these words are *the World* and *the Public*. We read such books as HORACE WALPOLE'S charming Letters, and, seeing phrases embracing "the world" and "the public," take them in the modern sense; but the public of George the First's reign is no more the Public of William the Fourth's, or indeed any other of his successors, than the groat of Edward the First is the groat of a modern fourpence. There is a change in the currency of words, as of coins. When Walpole speaks of the World of England, it may almost be reckoned upon the fingers: the World was but the aristocratic frequenters of London, with a tail of led captains, sharpers, adventurers, broken younger sons, and kept-mistresses; they were surrounded by a set of camp sutlers, in the shape of tradespeople, who in fact hedged in the World, and aided in forming the Public. Where was the English Nation at this time? It was not; because, though the elements existed, there was no means of communication—no moral combination among them. When it did show itself, it was only when some striking event, by its greatness and energy, forced a passage through the difficult channels that then served for intercourse; and being in a great measure ignorant, prejudiced, and un-*sed* to power, it showed itself unhappily, and in the shape of mobs. The English Nation appears on occasion of the Jew Bill, the persecution of Byng, the Lord George Gordon riots, and those at Birmingham, when it burnt Dr. Priestley's house, instruments, and books, and would have sacrificed himself if he had been laid hold of. The Country party was not the Nation—let no one imagine it. It consisted of Jacobite landholders, who could not themselves have given any better reason for being called the Country party, than that they chiefly consisted of country gentlemen, dwelling on their estates, as inaccessible from the badness of roads as their heads were imperious by reason of the wretchedness of their education. What, then, was the World, at the time we are speaking of? Read Walpole's letters. In consequence of the smallness of this world—its wealth mixed up with genteel poverty, and its irresponsibility to any public opinion but its own—it was a world of a most extravagant kind; immoral, licentious, riotous, profuse, and mean, by turns. The extravagancies of the times of the Second George, and which occur so continually in the Letters we allude to, could only be committed now at the risk of the lunatic asylum or the prison, or at any rate at the expense of utter loss of character. The class to which we refer is now chastened by the extension of public opinion, and by the wholesome contiguity of proximate classes, which soften down the distinctions of society, and prevent much of that egotism which in those times ventured every thing with impunity when combined with rank and power.

Instances occur in Walpole so constantly, that it is almost useless to refer to them. The publication of Lady Vane's Memoirs, by herself (with the aid of Smollett) is a case full of meaning: they who read them, and reflect that there was no pressure of want or other motive to satisfy than a species of gross vanity, and that the lady lived afterwards and was not shunned, may form a pretty correct idea of her times. Then think of the House of Commons adjourning at three o'clock to see a play acted by some people of fashion at Drury Lane; or of Horace Walpole, the Uncle, dashing off his wig in the said House when his gray hairs were alluded to; or of his fighting a duel on its staircase; or of the celebrated Marshal Wade gambling at a low place and losing his snuffbox, whereupon the company was searched, and one gentleman found to have half a fowl in his pocket, the gift of a waiter, and on his pleading gentility, was presented with a hundred pounds by the Marshal! What shall we say of two members of Parliament—Taaffe, and young Montagu,

the son of Lady Mary Wortley—being tried and found guilty of forgery, or coining something of the sort at Paris, and been committed to the Châtelet! Members of Parliament, indeed, have not so much improved as some other classes. The rage about the beautiful Gummings, too, could only happen in such times: and then their ignorance, their extravagance—not greater, however, than the powerful noblemen that espoused them! What a scene is this to have passed partly in the eye of the world, and all of it without any reprehension from the world! The Duke of Hamilton, it must be observed, fell in love with the younger Gunning at a masquerade about six weeks before the time mentioned below.

About a fortnight since, at an immense assembly at my Lord Chesterfield's, made to show the house, which is really most magnificent, Duke Hamilton made violent love at one end of the room, while he was playing at pharaoh, at the other end: that is, he saw neither the bank, or his own cards, which were three hundred pounds each; he soon lost a thousand pounds. I own I was so little a professor in love, that I thought all this parade looked ill for the poor girl; and could not conceive if he was so much engaged with his mistress, why he played at all. However, two nights afterwards, being left alone with her, while her mother and sister were at Bedford House, he found himself so impatient, that he sent for a parson. The doctor refused to perform the ceremony without license or ring: the Duke swore he would send for the Archbishop: at last they were married with a ring of the bed-curtain, at half an hour after twelve at night, at Mayfair Chapel. The Scotch are enraged: the women mad that so much beauty has had its effect; and what is most a my Lord Coventry declares that now he will marry the other. —*Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann*, Vol. III, p. 51.

The beauty of the Gummings extended its influence beyond the World to the Mob; seven hundred persons sat up all night in and about an inn in Yorkshire, to see the Dutches of Hamilton get into her post-chaise next morning. A shoemaker at Worcester got two guineas by showing Lady Coventry's shoe at a penny a piece.

A time when extravagance was the rage, when men vied with each other in tavern-bills, high play, and in such ridiculous contests as driving geese against turkeys up from Norwich, poverty and crime raged among the dregs of the Town. There was no Police, and no safety: at one time no one stirred out after midnight without a guard; and on a famous highwayman being taken, he became the fashion, and all the nobility flocked to see him.

Lord Mountford, at the head of half White's went the first day (to see him: name was M'Lean—he was the son of an Irish Dean): his aunt was crying over him: as soon as they were withdrawn, she said to him, knowing they were of White's: "My dear, what did the Lords say to you? have you ever been concerned with any of them?—Was it not admirable? What a favourable idea people must have of White's!—and what if White's should not deserve a much better! But the chief personages who have been to comfort and weep over this fallen hero, are Lady Caroline Petersham and Miss Ashe: I called them *Polly* and *Lucy*, and asked them if he did not sing."

Thus I stand like the Turk with his doxies around."

The conclusion of the paragraph is as characteristic of the times as of Walpole—

"Another celebrated *Polly* has been arrested—even the old Cuzzoni. The Prince of Wales bailed her: who will do as much for him?"—Vol. I, p. 470.

Our World is very bad, to be sure, and is not wanting in its follies and crimes; but it must always be remembered that it is a thousand times bigger than the world of Walpole; and though there is now perhaps even more of extreme misery and poverty than in his days, the mass of respectability, and the general tone of morality and social feeling, far exceed any thing that Walpole or his contemporaries had a notion of. —*Spectator*, June 22.

EXTRAORDINARY MISTAKE IN THE RECORDER'S WARRANT.—It was reported in the papers that Job Cox, convicted of stealing money from a letter, was excepted from the general pardon granted by his Majesty in council to all the criminals in the Recorder's report. The Recorder's warrant was sent to Newgate for the man's execution. It was by mere accident that the Lord Chief Justice saw the paragraph in the paper, and mentioned it to one of the sheriffs: a dangerous error of the newspapers. The sheriff said the paragraph was true, the criminal informed, the warrant signed, the officials summoned, and the man was to die on Tuesday. Sir T. Denman said he was of the privy council when the sentence was commuted to transportation for life, and that Cox was ordered to be kept to hard labour until that sentence was enforced. The under-sheriff was despatched by the Chief Justice to the Home Office, and the black-sealed warrant of death, signed by Newman Knowlys, was soon exchanged for a counter-order under the signature of the Chief Secretary of State. No one doubts for a moment that the impression on the Recorder's mind was clear that Cox was ordered for execution by the council. When he arose the startling mistake it is impossible to say. Mr. Lord, it will be seen, alluding to the circumstance, said the explanation was "within the breast of one individual." We need not say that Cox, who was ordered to prepare for death in twenty-two hours, was too much delighted with his reprieve to ask how the mistake occurred.

The resignation of the Recorder has placed an office at the disposal of the Court of Aldermen. Mr. Law, the common sergeant, will probably succeed; and Mr. Hill, M. P. for Hull, is a candidate for the common serjeantcy.

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